## IMPOLICY OF SLAVERY.

In the cruelty and injustice of negro slavery, in the misery it occasions, and the devastation which it spreads over the face of the earth, all the thinking part of mankind are agreed; how, indeed, is it possible there can be two opinions on the subject, when, to say nothing of the slave trade,\* it has long been a matter of public notoriety, that the slaves in the West Indies are degradedly driven like cattle by the whip at their labour.+ That they are held and dealt with as property, and often branded as such with a hot iron;—that they are liable to be sold at the will of their master, or for payment of his debts, and the nearest ties in life are thus rent asunder;—that they are liable, whether male or female, to be exposed, and degradingly punished, at the caprice, not only of the master or overseer, but of the meanest driver; —that they are compelled to work on the Sabbath for their own subsistence, which is, in fact, for their master's profit;—that the advantages of religious instruction, and of the marriage tie, are almost universally withheld from them; -that the most unrestrained licentiousness prevails amongst them, and is exhibited in a degrading, disgusting, and/depopulating promiscuous intercourse, encouraged by the debaucheries of the whites;—that they can hold no property; their evidence is not received, and hence laws for their protection are but a mocker's:—the reader will be ready to exclaim, "Surely there must be some great and palpable gain arising from this system, to induce its maintenance for a single hour!" But what will be his astonishment to find, that instead of gain, it is attended with great and enormous loss: that such is it's inherent impolicy, that if it had not been supported and protected by bounties and prohibitions, if would long since have been ameliorated and fir ally have fallen.

The protecting bounties and prohibitions mostly apply to sugar, which is the chief production of our West India Colonies.—They are:—

1.—A bounty which is paid on the exportation of refined sugar, and which raises the price of all sugar in the home-market about 6s, per cwt. above its natural price.:

J.—A high duty of 10s. per cwt. above what is paid from the cest Indies, imposed on sugar, the produce of the British dominions in India.

III.—Prohibitory duties on sugar grown in all other parts of the world.

Thus we see, that the system pursued in the British West Indies requires to be supported by a bounty paid by the people of England, and to be protected, not only from the competition of the produce of free labour, but also from that of milder systems of slave labour. But though such injustice and cruelty may flourish for a time, yet the present state of slavery

country has actually led us to reject sugar, if produced by the labour of the African on his native soil; and at the same time to give a bounty on the produce of his labour, when converted into a slave, and forced to cultivate the now-exhausted soils of our West India islands! Such is truly the state of things: and how lamentable is it, that after condemning and abolishing the African slave trade, we should still be supporting, with enormous pecuniary sacrifices, the remnant of our wickedness and folly!

Let us look at the map of the world. We know that sugar can be produced for about thirty degrees on each side of the equator; we know, also, that an acre of good land, in those climates, will produce as many pounds of sugar as our land does of wheat; and that, if it were not for duties and bounties, sugar might be supplied in great plenty at a very cheap rate. Who then can sufficiently condemn a policy, which holds in chains of bondage 700,000 of our fellow-beings; and for the very sake of maintaining this oppressive and wicked system, confines us to a few little colonies for our supply of one of the most valuable and important of all foreign productions! Who can sufficiently condemn a policy, which, for the sake of furnishing to these poor, miserable beings, the few things with which their masters may choose to supply them, restricts and sacrifices an unforced and beneficial commerce, with tens, nay, hundreds of millions in Asia, Africa, and America, whose unrestrained choice would range through the almost indefinitely varied field of our manufacturing inventions!

The impolicy of bounties to raise the price of the produce of slave labour, and their injurious effects on the condition of the slave population, might be clearly illustrated by a comparison of the state of the British West India colonies, with those of Spain and Portugal, and with the United States. These bounties have enabled the British planters to be absent from, and to neglect their own concerns, and to delegate to others the tremendous responsibilities of their situation; this characteristic of the British system is the fruitful source from which most of its peculiar evils arise. The colonies of Spain and Portugal have been compelled to support themselves; they have neither had bounties on their produce, nor the expenses of a standing army, paid by the mother country. Their system of treatment is more mild,§ they encourage emancipation, and have vast numbers of free labourers; and these are the countries which are underselling the British sugar planters in all the markets of Europe.

With prices of produce sometimes so low as not to

about 100,000. Though this cannot be exactly ascertained, there can be no reasonable doubt that the natural increase must have been at least twenty-five per cent. in every ten years. But we need not now confine our comparison to the United States, for we have many cases in the West Indies to prove, that if the slaves were well treated, a similar increase would take place there; an increase which, in thirty years from this time, would make their numbers nearly 1,400,000, whilst in the same time, at the present rate of decrease, the slave population would be reduced to little more than 550,000.

Does not a system, now proceeding at such a rate as to destroy the lives, or prevent the existence of 800,000 human beings in thirty years, imperiously demand investigation, and more especially when it is known that this destruction or prevention of life is the chief means of keeping slavery in the British West India islands in existence; for with such an increase, a great proportion of the population of many of the islands must have become free?

The pecuniary advantages of such an increase would be almost incalculable, and we have only to look at the United States to be convinced that these views are neither visionary nor speculative; for about thirty years ago they only produced one-tenth part of the cotton, which was then grown on the island of Jamaica, where its culture is now nearly abandoned, whilst in the United States it has increased nearly one-thousand fold: but to go no farther back than the year 1808, when the slave trade in both was abolished, we shall find the growth of sugar, the great staple of the British colonies, has been nearly stationary, whilst cotton, the staple of the slave cultivation of the United States, has been more than doubled. The cause of this difference is not difficult to discover: the American cotton planters live on their estates, and have to depend on their own good management for success: whilst most of British sugar planters reside in England, and are supported in their mismanagement by bounties and protections: if these were withdrawn, they would soon discover, that in the good treatment of their slaves, they would have ample compensation, and that a difference in their numbers of three per cent. per annum would be more than equal to a bounty of 6s. per cwt. on their Eugar.

Slavery being a forced and unnatural state of society, can only exist with high prices of produce, and becomes gradually extinguished in a competition with free labour. Thus we see it gradually diminishing in the northern parts of the United States, where there is the greatest competition of free labour, and where slave labour is therefore of least

apply to sugar, which is the chief production of our West I adia Colonies.—They are:—

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Thus we see, that the system pursued in the British West Indies requires to be supported by a bounty paid by the people of England, and to be protected, not only from the competition of the produce of free labour, but also from that of milder systems of slave labour. But though such injustice and cruelty may flourish for a time, yet the present state of slavery is a clear illustration of the position, that an all-wise Creator has made it the interest of every man to do right; that whatever is contrary to justice and humanity, must be equally contrary to sound policy; that interest and duty are indissolubly bound together.

Had commerce been carried on with enlarged and enlightened views of self-interest, and especially if united with motives of benevolence and humanity, how would knowledge and civilization have marked the steps of Europeans, and have been extended from the coasts to the interior of Africa! Instead of which, we have spread barbarism and desolation on her coasts, and thereby formed a formidable barrier to our intercourse with the more civilized interior! Had these views and motives characterized our intercourse with India, how would darkness, ignorance, and idolatry have been disappearing amongst her vast population! Then might we, at this day, have been exchanging the produce of a vastly-extended manufacturing industry, for the cheap productions of voluntary labour on the fertile soils of Africa and of India. But how widely different has been our conduct! What but absolute infatuation could have induced the Europeans to destroy the native inhabitants of the West Indies, in order to re-people those islands, at an enormous expense, from the coast of Africa! And what but absolute infatuation can it have been, which in this With prices of produce sometimes so low as not to pay for the importation of slaves, the slave population of the United States has augmented nearly one hundred and twenty-five per cent. in thirty years, and that from natural increase; if the importation from Africa, which was legal into some of the States for a short time in that period, did not exceed the amount of manumissions, which are estimated at

In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, the slaves are allowed one day in the week besides Sunday, and about thirty holidays, making in all one hundred and thirty-four days, whilst in some of the British colonies, the allowance is only seventyeight, and in others, sixty-six or sixty-eight days. The slaves have a right by the Spanish law, to purchase their own freedom. In those colonies the great number of free labourers must tend to reduce the wages of labour, and hence, they do many things for themselves which the British planters do not: they refine or clay their sugar; they make their own cotton bagging, and the packages for their sugar.-Instead of attributing the cheapness of cultivation to these causes, and to the innumerable advantages of the residence of the planters, it has been ascribed to the continued importation of slaves: to prove this to be the cause of the difference, it must be shewn that the British planters would be benefited by the further extension of a losing business. A continued importation of slaves is unequivocal proof that the price of produce has not reached its lowest point; for it may be clearly shewn, that the whole expense of importation is thrown away, for good treatment will increase the slaves without diminishing the produce, and therefore without expense to the master. The time when a child has defrayed the expense of helpless infancy will vary according to the value of his labour. A Professional Planter, page 149, says, "that at the age of five or six they do enough to defray the expense of their support;" and when the slaves cultivate land for their ground-provisions, and provide food for their own children, they cannot have cost at that age more than 40s. to 50s. each. In the most unfavourable portions of the United States, where labour is of least value, and where most clothing is required, it is computed that they are clear to the master at twenty-one.-When the slave trade was in its vigour the decrease was more rapid than it now is; and fully two slaves must have been imported for one permanently added to the population. At this rate it would have cost the United States at least £70,000,000 in the last thirty years more than it has done, thus to have supplied their population. Can the advantages of importing slaves be any longer contended for, except by men who, whilst contending that they pay the duty on sugar, dare not ask for its reduction, lest an investigation into this delicate subject should bring to public view the whole mystery of the bounty?

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Slavery being a forced and unnatural state of society, can only exist with high prices of produce, and becomes gradually extinguished in a competition with free labour. Thus we see it gradually diminishing in the northern parts of the United States, where there is the greatest competition of free labour, and where slave labour is therefore of least value; and, on the contrary, in those States as we proceed southward, where there is less competition of free labour, and its profits are therefore increased, there we see slavery in its worst form; for in proportion to the prices of produce, or the profits of the system, are its severities. Low prices of produce, also, compel the adoption of the best and most economical systems; and thus lead almost necessa-

As the increase of the slave population was greater by about 5 per cent, from 1800 to 1810, (during a part of which time the importation was legal into some of the states) than in the preceding or succeeding ten years, and as this difference only amounted to about 45,000, it was thought the manumissions would fully counterbalance the importations. From the small value of the produce exported in a great part of the period, from 1790 to 1800, and especially before cotton was extensively cultivated, there could be little temptation for smuggling, and from the year 1808 (which was both the period of the abolition and the embargo) the extremely depressed prices of produce, until the end of the war in 1814 put the smuggling of slaves entirely out of the question; but for about three years after the peace, smuggling was carried on to some considerable extent; since then it has been almost entirely suppressed, and upon the whole, 30,000 appear to be an unreasonably large allowance for what must chiefly have taken place in three years. There has been, and still continues, a notoriously extensive slave trade from Maryland, Virginia, &c. for the supply of the southern states; this, together with manumissions, has kept the slave population of Maryland nearly station. ary, for the last thirty years, and that of Virginia has only increased in the three periods, 19, 13, and 8 per cent. the highest of which rates must be much under the natural increase, for the abolition laws would be as carefully watched in these slavebreeding states, as the corn laws would be in our corn-growing counties: in short, the natural increase of the slave population, in the United States, is a matter not only of public notoriety, but of alarm, and is generally taken at 21/2 per cent. or

The slaves on G. Haynes' estate in Barbadoes, increased from sixty-two in the year 1797 to one hundred and two in the year 1816.—(Mercator's Letters.) Slaves removed from the Bahamas to Demerara, increased at the rate of 2½ per cent. per annum.—(See Vindex's Letters.) The increase of coloured people in Trinidad from 1812 to 1821 is rapid, even after making all reasonable allowance for manumissions, and the addition of those who joined the British standard in the American war. The increase of the free coloured people in Jamaica, (see Yates' Letter to Huskisson) and of the Maroons in Jamaica, (see Negro Slavery, No. IV.) all show an increase of 2½ per cent. or upwards.

British west India colomics, with those of Spain and Portugal, and with the United States. These bounties have enabled the British planters to be absent from, and to neglect their own concerns, and to delegate to others the tremendous responsibilities of their situation; this characteristic of the British system is the fruitful source from which most of its peculiar evils arise. The colonies of Spain and Portugal have been compelled to support themselves; they have neither had bounties on their produce, nor the expenses of a standing army, paid by the mother country. Their system of treatment is more mild, § they encourage entancipation, and have vast numbers of free labourers; and these are the countries which are underselling the British sugar planters in all the markets of Europe.

<sup>\*</sup> By which the slaves were originally brought from Africa to the West Indies, and by which they may still be transported from one colony to another.

<sup>†</sup> The hours of labour by the Leeward Island amelioration law, are from five in the morning until seven in the evening, (this, we in England should generally call a day and a quarter) during which time, the slave is allowed two hours and a half for breakfast, and "to procure, dress, and eat his dinner." Besides this, on the sugar estates, during crop time, a great proportion of those who are able, work through half the night, or the whole of every alternate night.

It is admitted in the letters of T. Fletcher, published by order of the Liverpool West India Association, that British plantation sugar, sells 5s. per cwt. higher than foreign sugar of similar quality. For particulars respecting this bounty, see Relief for IVest Indian Distress, page 4.

rily to an improved treatment of the slaves; and, in point of fact, low prices of produce have generally been beneficial to the slaves; whilst high prices have as generally been injurious to them.\* High prices alone have supported the destructive system which has kept slavery in existence; for slavery can only exist where the population is in a ratio greatly below the demand for labour. In the West India colonies we have seen how the population has been kept down, and slavery has been upheld, by means of that system; for it is obvious, that were the population as great there, in proportion, as it is in England, there could exist no temptation to maintain slavery. Who, indeed, in this country, would ever think of holding men in slavery with a hope of profit? And what but the waste of human life which has taken place in the West Indies, has there prevented, a gradual approach to such a state of things?

An increase in the supply of men, as of any article, makes them bear a less price, until at length they become worth nothing as saleable property: but this is no loss to their master; for, by industry and good management, he will have a great increase of produce, and probably of income: but even if his income remains the same, it will have the stability of landed income, instead of the unjust and uncertain tenure of property in the persons and lives of his fellow-men. Wherever slavery exists, land is of little value. We seldom hear a planter speak of the number of his acres, but of the number of his slaves. In the United States, land of a worse quality, and more unfavourably situated, if cultivated by free men, is worth more than double the price of better land, in a better situation, in the same district, when that land is cultivated by slaves. The continuance, therefore, of such a system of oppression, of wickedness, of impolicy, and of felly, is almost incredible in this enlightened age; especially as it would unquestionably fall by its own weight, if it were left to itself. But we have not left it to itself; we are now paying in bounty to keep up the prices of sugar, and in establishments and armics, to keep the slaves in subjection, about two millions annually! And all this, we are distinctly told by the planters, is not sufficient. Three millions more, according to their estimates, must be given them to afford even a moderate remuneration, which altogether would make an expense to the country of seven pounds annually for every slave held in bondage.†

Great as this pecuniary sacrifice is, it is not all that we are called upon to make; we are called upon to support a system, the effects of which have ever been to hinder the progress of improvement, and to

I barbarism in its stead; a system, every where A by the destruction of the very soil, and still The employment afforded by the linen trade, in the north, is an obvious cause of this superiority, and points out to us a practical remedy for the distress of the other parts of that country; and here it is most important to remark, that from the recent rapid increase of the cotton trade, we see a part of it already beginning to flow towards Ireland, so as to afford the most cheering hopes of what might be soon effected by a liberal and enlightened policy. It might, indeed, be incontestibly shown, that the very same restrictions which mainly serve to maintain the bondage of the colonial slaves, also serve to bind down the energies and prevent the prosperity of Ireland; and that the same remedy, namely, the removal of those restrictions, will tend to relieve them both. What is chiefly required, in order to produce this happy result, is, that the people of England should cease to make the sacrifices, which they are now compelled to make, in the shape of bounties and protecting and prohibiting duties, and which are the grand means of perpetuating both the evils in question; both the slavery of our colonies, and the misery and degradation of a great part of Ireland.

The unrestricted commerce of the world, and the competition of free labour, would necessarily introduce improved systems into our West India colonies; would gradually ameliorate the treatment of the slaves, and finally extinguish slavery itself; these colonies, enjoying their natural advantages, would not then need to fear, the competition of any other part of the world.

The unrestricted commerce of the world would give employment to Ireland; her population would then exchange idleness and rags, for industry and comfort; her fine streams, now wasting their powers, would give motion to numerous manufactories; her grain and provisions, now compelled to seek a market in other countries, would then find ample demand amongst her own improved popula-

We have already observed, that it might at least have been expected, that in sacrificing such immense national advantages, we should have had some manifest and palpable compensation, in the enormous wealth and unparalleled prosperity, of those, for whose benefit the sacrifice is made. Is then the present system of colonial cultivation advantageous to the planters? If it be, of what do they complain? Have they not the unrestrained use and full control of their slaves? Have they not the privilege of importing their produce at a less duty than other countries? Have they not bounties also on its re-exportation? Yet we hear every day that West Indian cultivation is no longer profitable, and that, without further sacrifices on the part of the mother country, the plantBy the substitution of hope of reward, for force and fear; by treating his slaves as human beings, this benevolent individual stopped the gradual decrease in their numbers; and, after following this system for the short period of only four years and three months, he tripled the annual net produce of his

Amongst all the obvious disadvantages of slave labour, there is none more striking than its tendency to deteriorate the soil. To those who are at all acquainted with the slave cultivation, either of the United States or of the West Indies, the fact is so well known, and so universally admitted, as to make any proofs unnecessary. Wherever slaves are used, the master thinks comparatively little of sparing them; but has recourse to their sinews for everything; cattle are, therefore, far less employed than they ought to be, and hence slave countries are behind all others in agricultural improvements. Our own soils would wear out, if constantly cultivated, even with wheat, with barley, or with oats. But, happily, the people of England are not slaves! they eat beef and mutton, they wear woollen cloth, and leather shoes. A demand for these articles promotes the introduction of cattle, and of green crops, which manure the soil, and preserve its fertility.§

Another instance of the impolicy of the system, is in the quantity of food which one man is to consume, being fixed by another; in this they fare worse than horses, which are seldom limited. Not so the poor slave. By the amelioration law of the Leeward Islands, passed in 1798, and which professes to be a measure " calculated to obviate the causes which hitherto may have impeded the natural increase of negroe's," it is enacted, that there shall be weekly provided for every slave, nine pints of corn, (about seven or eight pounds) or beans; or eight pints of pease, or wheat, or rye dour, (about five pounds); or Indian corn meal, or nine pints of oatmeal, (about five pounds;) or seven pints of rice, c r eight pounds of biscuit, or twenty pounds of yams or potatoes, and also one pound and a quarter of herrings, (about four herrings) to be distributed in such proportions as the owner may think proper. There are other articles enumerated, out of which the master has the choice of supplying his slave, these are selected as being best known and admitting of comparison. In addition to this a very trifling allotment of land, say) forty feet square, is allowed, which may add about onefifth to the quantity of ground provisions. On circumparing this allowance of food with a number ? English and Irish prisons, it was found to be less than half the average, and is about one-half the allowance of the Bahamas, where, as might be expected, the slaves are increasing.

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the planters, is not sufficient. Three millions more, according to their estimates, must be given them to afford even a moderate remuneration, which altogether would make an expense to the country of seven pounds annually for every slave held in bondage.

Great as this pecuniary sacrifice is, it is not all that we are called upon to make; we are called upon to support a system, the effects of which have ever been to hinder the progress of improvement, and to spread barbarism in its stead; a system, every where marked by the destruction of the very soil, and still more, by its tendency, to the destruction of every virtuous and moral feeling, no less in the master than in the slave. We are called upon to bind down the energies of the country, and to exclude that competition which would certainly destroy this wretched system. The rapid extension of our commerce, since its opening with South America and India, cramped and restricted as it still is, is abundantly sufficient to show what that extension might have been, under a conduct, governed by more liberal and enlightened views. We have seen, for instance, the cotton trade, not only giving full employment to the population of the districts in England where it is now carried on, but, since the removal of some absurd regulations in the last Session of Parliament. we have seen with delight, some branches of this trade extending to Ireland, and presenting the best means of improving and raising her depressed population! Had we but employed the means within our power, of diffusing employment, civilization, and comfort, over the regions of Asia, Africa, and America, we should long since have received in return. employment and comfort for the suffering and depressed, though generous-minded population of Ireland! and even now, if we will but pursue this policy, we shall soon reap an abundant reward.

But if we are still to make such immense sacrifices for the colonies, we ought at least to receive in return an overflow of wealth and prosperity from them. But instead of this, we shall find, that to the general prosperity of this country there are two grand exceptions—the West Indies and Ireland. The slavery of the West Indies, and the condition of a large part of the population of Ireland, form two dark stains on the otherwise bright and cheering picture. No true friend to this country can be indifferent to the condition of our Irish brethren. Now the most cursory observer, in contemplating the state of Ireland, cannot fail to remark the immense superiority of the condition of the north as compared with the south.

wealth and unparalleled prosperity, of those, for whose benefit the sacrifice is made. Is then the present system of colonial cultivation advantageous to the planters? If it be, of what do they complain? Have they not the unrestrained use and full control of their slaves? Have they not the privilege of importing their produce at a less duty than other countries? Have they not bounties also on its re-exportation? Yet we hear every day that West Indian cultivatic is no longer profitable, and that, without further sacrifices on the part of the mother country, the planters will be ruined.—But can the planters suppose, that this country is prepared to make these further sacrifices? to submit to still heavier burdens, for no other purpose than to support an unjust system, which is at the same time unprofitable, not only to the country, but to themselves? Instead of looking any longer for such ruinous support, let them employ the means of improvement which are amply within their power. Let them examine what it is that enables their competitors to undersell them; they will soon perceive, that if the advantages of one system of slavery, as compared even with another system of slavery, are so great and obvious as they will find them to be, the comparative advantages of free labour will prove infinitely greater !

We have seen that the cultivation of indigo, by free labour, in the East Indies, has almost wholly superseded its cultivation by slaves in the Western world; and this was the only article which could bear the high charges of conveyance to Europe during the monopoly of the East India Company. If the obstructions to our commerce with India were removed, similar success would, doubtless, attend the culture of sugar and cotton, so as to compel the adoption of free labour in the West Indies. It is useless, however, to pursue a subject which has been so completely established, that all controversy upon it must now be for ever at rest; and referring the reader to Hodgson's letter to Say, we shall only just state. that amongst the many proofs of the advantages of free labour, the experiment of gradually raising slaves to the rank of free men, was most successfully tried in the British West Indies, by Joshua Steele. 1

rated, out of which the master has the choice of supplying his slave, these are selected as being best known and admitting of comparison. In addition to this a very trifling allotment of land, says forty feet square, is allowed, which may add about one-fifth to the quantity of ground provisions. On comparing this allowance of and with a number of English and Irish prisons, it was a less than half the average, and is about one-half the allowance of the Bahamas, where, as might be expected, the slaves are increasing.

It may be said, and no doubt with truth, that many masters allow them more food; but what can be expected from a community which would pass an amelioration law, and leave the allowance so lamentably deficient? We find that even the provisions of this law are not enforced, though it is acknowledged there are many defaulters, (See Stephen on the Slavery of the West Indies, page 100.) At what price can we expect to obtain our sugars, when we attempt to extract labour by the lash from such half-fed beings?

If the change from slavery to freedom was attended both with danger and with loss, who would even then be found to advocate the continuance of slavery? But when its policy has been so fully proved, let us hope, that the enlightened part of the West Indians themselves, will unite with us, to extirpate this evil. And when it is considered that the sacrifices which are now making to perpetuate slavery, would be more than sufficient to purchase the entire redemption of all the slaves at the earliest period they could be prepared for freedom; who can entertain any sloubt, that if the subject was properly investigated, and the interests and claims of the planters, and those of their oppressed slaves, fairly taken into consideration, a plan might be devised and adopted which would prove greatly beneficial alike to planters, to the slaves, and to the country at large?

Do not these things call for investigation? Can any individual, who feels an interest in the prosperity of his country, or in the happiness of his fellow-creatures, refuse to examine whether they are true? And, if convinced of their truth, shall we be guiltless if we hold our peace, or relax our efforts until the whole mass of this iniquitous system, with all its ruinous effects, is understood and felt by the country?

<sup>\*</sup> Exhaustion of soil, the uniform effect of slave cultivation, must, in the West Indies, like low prices of produce in the United States, lead to better management and better treatment, as remarkably exemplified in the cultivation of the Bahama Islands.—See Stephen on the Slavery of the West Indies, Appendix 111

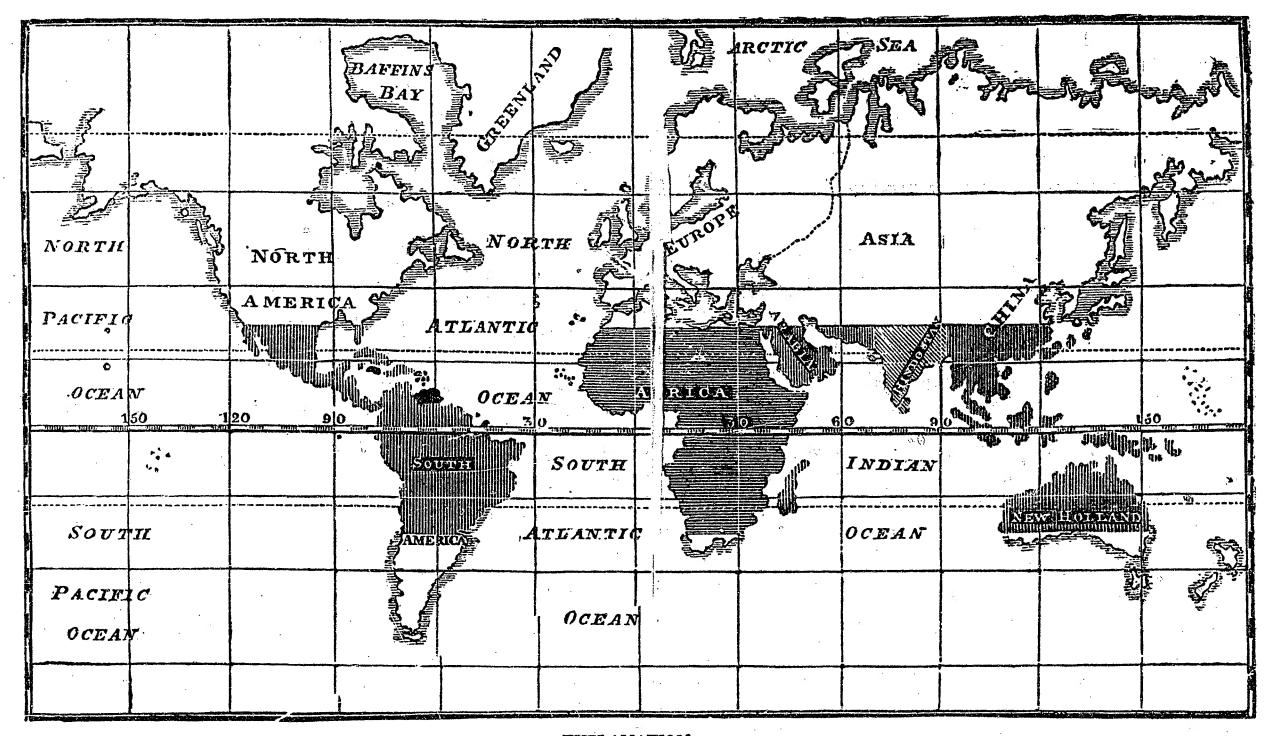
<sup>†</sup> The estimate of remunerating price to the planters is about 50s. per cwt. the average having been for 1822, only 27s. 11d.—Relief for West Indian Distress, page 15.

<sup>#</sup> Where trade is free and unshackled, and where men have only to look to their own good management for success, they are naturally anxious to discover and imitate every improvement; but how different is the conduct of the advocates of West Indian slavery, who look to bounties and protections to support them in a wicked and impolitic system! They catch at every straw to account for their being undersold, they strive by the most improbable stories to discredit the success of every attempt at improvement, or to account for an increase of slaves which they have themselves brought forward; but in nothing has this been so strikingly evinced, as in the repeated attempts to destroy the effect of Steele's experiment.—At first we were told his slaves decreased under his management, when we shewed that this exactly agreed with his own statement before he adopted the new system. Then it was attempted to be shewn that the increase of profit arose from a greater price,

when on the contrary it was incontestibly proved, that exactly the reverse was the fact, and that the price was much the lowest when the new system was tried. Then again we are told that the crops generally in the Island of Barbadoes were better during the period of Steele's new system: to this it may be said, that unless they can shew that the crops were nearly one-third more, the advantages of the system still remain established, and the veracity and candour of this good man unimpeached by all the efforts of the opponents of negro improvement

<sup>§</sup> See Relief for West Indian Distress, page 20; and an Impartial Appeal to the Inhabitants of Illinois, on the Injurious Effect of Slave Labour.—See Negro Slavery, No. 6.

CHART OF THE WORLD (ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION) ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE IMPOLICY OF SLAVERY.



## EXPLANATION.

The shaded part of the map, including 30 degrees on each side the equator, represents the countours suitable for the growth of sugar, so far as climate is concerned.

The parts enti/rely black represent the colony of Demerara, &c. on the Continent of South America, the Island of Jamaica, and the West India Islands, under the British flag; and are the countries to which we are at present confined for the syapply of sugar, except by paying higher duties on that article from other quarters.

The part horizontally shaded includes nearly the whole of Africa, from which we are prevented obtaining sugar by the devastating effects of the slave trade, and rulso by prohibitions for the support of slavery in the West Indies.

The Mingonal shading represents Hindostan, from which our trade in sugar is restricted and limited by high duties.

The perpendicular shading (covering nearly the whole of the Continent of South America, the whole of Mexico, Arabia, China, New Holland, the Indian Archipelago, other Islands, &c.) represents the large extent of territory from which we can derive no sugar, owing to prohibitory duties.

All these duties and prohibitions, restricting or prohibiting us from trade in sugar with those vast territories, and consequently from the advantages of a proportionate increase in the consumption of British manufactures, to an extent that would give employment to the destitute population of Ireland and Great Britain,—all are imposed for the exclusive protection and support of slave cultivation in the West Indian colonies; colonies which form but insignificant specks in the map, in point of extent, as indeed they are insignificant and inadequate with reference to the prospective increase of commerce commensurate with the unrestricted operations of British capital, enterprise, and industry.

## REMARKS

## ON THE PROBABLE EXTENSION OF BRITISH COMMERCE.

No one who will take the pains to examine the subject, can entertain any doubt that the earth is capable of producing a sufficiency for all its inhabitants; and that, by the aid of machinery, comforts and luxuries may be manufactured to an extent far beyond what any country now enjoys. There can, therefore, be no imaginable limit to the further extension of commerce, but that of the power of the earth to produce, or of man to manufacture the comforts and luxuries of life to the full extent of the desire to enjoy them. The object of commerce being to make those exchanges of the products of manufacturing or agricultural industry, which difference of climate, soil, or other circumstances render advantageous; such exchange will be most extensive and beneficial between countries where those are most varied.

Sugar and cotton being the great productions of warm climates, must consequently be the great objects of the foreign commerce of Great Britain, and to them these remarks will chiefly apply.

The people of this country or Ireland have no disinclination to consume sugar if they can obtain it; it is estimated, that many individuals do consume eighty pounds per annum, being about five times as much as our average consumption for each individual in the British empire. If the duties on sugar were reduced as the consumption increases, the revenue would sustain no loss. If the consumption was four times as great, the rate of duty might be reduced to one-fourth; and then, with a free trade, we might have brown sugar at 3d. per lb.\*

No objection any where exits on the part of the people to the use of British mnufactures, which are, with little exception, cheaper han those of any other country; and it is shown, in the Report of the Liverpool East India Association, that if the duty on sugar was removed, a native of India would be able to procure five pieces of British calico in return for the sugar which his labour, if applied to its cultivation, would produce, in the time which would be occupied in manufacturing one piece of such calico in India; but the high duty on the sugar to be received in payment prevents the sale of the British goods as effectually as a duty laid on their export. The population of England, and especially that of the cotton districts, is now generally well employed. And Great Britain having about double the population of Ireland, it is fair to calculate, that one half more added to our present foreign commerce, would be more than sufficient to relieve that portion of Ireland which is now in distress from want of employment.

The probability of obtaining such increase may be judged by the following facts:

I.—The consumption of cotton in Great Britain is about 160,000,000 of pounds annually.

1I.—If one half that quantity is consumed at home, it will be four pounds for every individual, and no one who has seen much of the poor in England, and more especially of Ireland, will contend that even all our population are sufficiently clothed.

boon to induce them to abolish their slave trade.—(See Marry-att's Reply, & Relief for West Indian Distress.) There can be no doubt, that if British skill and capital were to operate on the fertile soils, and almost boundless population of India, sugar to an unlimited extent could be produced as cheap, if not cheaper, than in any other part of the world.

III.—If the population of our Eastern dominions took from us half a pound weight each of cotton goods, being only one-eighth part of the rate of consumption in Great Britain, it would be enough to give ample employment to Ireland.

IV.—The slaves in our West India Islands, by being made free, would not only raise more produce, but also consume much more of our manufactures. Thus would Great Britain find within her own dominions abundant scope for the extension of her commerce, and share with the rest of the world the vast field which would be opened beyond them.

V.—If the population of the whole world was estimated at 900,000,000, and if their habits were improved so as to enable them to consume as much as the population of the British dominions, it would probably amount to about eight or ten times the extent of the present cotton manufactures of the whole world; leaving an ample field to reward the exertions of other countries which might adopt the same enlightened policy. But though with respect to Africa, it may be truly said, that the crimes and devastations of ages cannot be repaired at once; and ages may still elapse before she is restored to the state in which European commerce found her; and though this may be true, it is no argument against making a commencement.

In conclusion, we may say—that among all the absurd and impolitic restrictions which still fetter our commerce, the greatest obstruction of all to its extension is to be found in the effects of the devastation made to procure slaves on the coast of Africa, and the sacrifices we are now making to support the system of Slave cultivation in the West Indies.

<sup>\*</sup> The price of brown Brazil sugar has been so low in the British market, as with a duty of 6s. 9d. per cwt. to admit of its being sold at 3d. per pound; and the opening of the British market to the sugar of the Brazils & Cuba would be the most likely